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BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA

U. S. Congress, Senate.

REPORT ON HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
SECOND AND THIRD SESSIONS

PURSUANT TO

S. RES. 314

A RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING AND DIRECTING THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY TO CALL FOR
CERTAIN EVIDENCE AND DOCUMENTS RE-
LATING TO CHARGES MADE AGAINST
BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA



WASHINGTON
1919



Gift
Mr. Edwin C. Shumaker
May 6 1885

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REPORT ON HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
UNITED STATES SENATE,

ON

SENATE RESOLUTION 314.

BOLSHEVISM.

On the 4th day of February, 1919, the Senate adopted the following resolution, No. 436, and in pursuance to the directions therein contained your committee proceeded to make the inquiry requested, and the testimony taken by your committee is contained in the printed record, entitled "Bolshevik propaganda," which is herewith transmitted.

Resolved, That the authority of the Committee on the Judiciary conferred by S. Res. 307 be, and the same hereby is, extended so as to include the power and duty to inquire concerning any efforts being made to propagate in this country the principles of any party exercising or claiming to exercise authority in Russia, whether such efforts originate in this country or are incited or financed from abroad, and, further, to inquire into any effort to incite the overthrow of the Government of this country or all government by force, or by the destruction of life or property, or the general cessation of industry.

In order to determine the possible connection and relation between the principles of government advocated by those claiming to exercise authority in Russia and the several activities now being carried on in the United States it was deemed essential that a careful inquiry be made to determine the exact nature of the so-called principles of government now being applied in Russia. The record includes the constitution and a compilation of many of the so-called laws in force in Russia, from which the nature of the paper government can be determined and the testimony of many eyewitnesses of the attempted application of this paper government discloses the character and nature of the actual government in practical operation. The investigation which your committee has conducted convinces it that few of either the advocates or opponents, in this country, of the present Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic are familiar with the fundamental principles upon which this government is attempting to perpetuate itself. Consequently the agitation growing out of developments in Russia has largely degenerated into appeals to the prejudices and the animosities that are inherent in the selfish natures of most individuals, and little or no appeal has been made to the intelligence of the people.

It is therefore not surprising that the word "Bolshevism" has now become merely a generic term, and in America is nothing more than a slogan of the elements of unrest and discontent.

By reason of their ignorance as to what Bolshevism as a code of political and social morals in Russia means, almost every dis-

satisfied element, from the radical anarchist to the theoretical idealist, has seized upon it as approaching something of a Utopian nature. It is interesting to note that every witness called before your committee as a champion of the cause of the principles of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic admitted that he or she had never read the constitution of the government of which he was the champion.

The word "Bolshevism" has been so promiscuously applied to various political and social programs that we feel that it is of paramount importance that the delusions and misconceptions as to what it really is as it exists to-day in Russia should be, as far as possible, removed, and that the people of the United States should be thoroughly informed as to just what this much-discussed institution really is, both in theory and in practice.

Your committee is of the opinion that the best answer that can be given to the argument of the champions of this Russian institution is a true explanation of its real nature and the actual principles upon which it is founded as well as the unavoidable consequences that would follow its adoption. The word "Bolshevik" is the name of the party that controls the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and that dictated its constitution. We are, therefore, justified in using this name to identify the constitution which it dictated and in accepting that constitution and the laws that have been prescribed under it as the platform and program of Bolshevism.

The following are a few of the fundamental facts descriptive of Bolshevism and the form and character of the government established and operated by the Bolsheviks in Russia under the name of the "Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic."

It is the dictatorship of a class and is not a democratic form of government. In its actual application it has become an autocracy of a few individuals, who exercise their authority and suppress all opposition by fear, terrorism, and force. It has developed into as much of an autocracy, though more cruel in its methods, as the monarchical government of the Czar's régime. Under the provisional government of Kerensky an effort was made to establish a democracy and to inaugurate a socialistic state under that form of government. With a view to establishing such a democratic government the provisional government, on July 22, 1917, ordered the election of the constituent assembly to be voted for by all of the people of Russia on September 30, 1917. Prior to this time general elections in Russia on an equal suffrage basis were unheard of, and it therefore became necessary for the provisional government to create the necessary election machinery and to secure a complete and impartial registration of the newly created electorate. The difficulties encountered in this undertaking made it necessary in August to postpone the election of the constituent assembly from the 30th of September to the 25th of November. This postponement was seized upon by the Bolsheviks as raising an issue through which they could attack the provisional government, and they charged that government with having an ulterior purpose in directing this postponement.

In raising this issue they appealed to the people to rise in defense of a democratic form of government by overthrowing the provisional government and securing for themselves thereby,

through the Bolshevik party, the benefits and advantages of a democracy and the election of a constituent assembly as an instrument which would make possible the establishment of a constitution based upon the equality of man and secure to all Russian citizens equal participation in the affairs of government. With this issue, among others, the Bolshevik party overthrew the provisional government in the October revolution and immediately issued a decree (Exhibit 1, appendix of record of hearing) ordering "that the elections to the constituent assembly shall be held on November 25, the day set aside for this purpose" by the provisional government and ordering that the freedom of the ballot should be adequately safeguarded. At the appointed time the constituent assembly was elected, and a canvass of the personnel of that assembly established the overwhelming defeat of the Bolshevik party and the supremacy of other socialist parties, whereupon the attitude of the Bolsheviks toward the constituent assembly underwent a complete change, and from that time their antagonism toward a constituent assembly, universal equal suffrage, and a democratic form of government has been manifested in every official act of the government and in the actual application of that government to the several activities of the nation.

In the original call for the election of the constituent assembly December 12, 1917, had been fixed as the time of its meeting. It was not, however, until January, 1918, that the Bolshevik autocracy permitted the constituent assembly to convene. When it did meet the Bolshevik party submitted to this representative body for adoption a set of resolutions denouncing the election at which it was elected, repudiating itself as representative of the electorate, whose commission it held, and declaring that there was no proper function for it to perform in the proposed new government of the Russian nation. (Exhibit 16, appendix.) As might well have been expected, the constituent assembly declined to pass this resolution, whereupon the Bolshevik members withdrew and the constituent assembly was forcibly dispersed by the Red Guard and a democratic form of government was lost to the Russian people. In its place has arisen the dictatorship of the small minority—headed by Lenin and Trotsky.

Lenin, president of the Soviet of People's Commissaries, frankly admits this in the following words:

Just as 150,000 lordly landowners dominated the 180,000,000 of Russian peasants, so 200,000 members of the Bolshevik party are imposing their proletarian will on the mass. * * *

Nor is this dictatorship the result of a usurpation of power on the part of the officials of the Bolsheviks, but it is the recognized foundation upon which the whole governmental structure is erected, as is evidenced by paragraph 9 of the Bolshevik constitution, which provides as follows:

The principal aim of the constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the present transitory period is to establish the dictatorship of the city and rural proletariat and of the poorest elements of the peasantry in the form of a powerful all-Russian soviet government for the purpose of completely suppressing the capitalistic class. * * *

[NOTE.—Under Bolshevism, the capitalistic class includes all persons who do not perform manual labor for a livelihood or who employ any person in their business or who own any property or receive any income, no matter how small the amount. The words "parasitic class" and "bourgeoisie" are popularly used by the Bolsheviks as synonymous with "capitalistic class."]

It is perhaps difficult to realize that it has been possible to perpetuate a dictatorship of such a small minority through the many months which have passed since it came into power. Without some understanding of the nature and character of the actual activities of the Bolsheviks the casual observer would be persuaded that the tyranny of this autocracy would in a short time bring down upon its head the wrath of the majority, who with reasonable effort would have no difficulty in overthrowing the usurpers. A study of the actual methods and practices of the dictatorship, however, clearly establishes the helplessness of the great mass of the Russian populace. The Bolsheviks have inaugurated a reign of terror unparalleled in the history of modern civilization, in many of its aspects rivaling even the inhuman savagery of the Turk and the terrors of the French Revolution. Under the evidence your committee has been compelled to impose the responsibility for this terrorism upon the government itself rather than attribute it merely to the excesses of individuals and groups undisciplined and untrained in the personal liberty acquired by them with the overthrowing of the centralized autocratic government of the old monarchistic régime. Terrorism and excesses in a State are either attributable to the encouragement of the State or to the weakness and inability of the State to restrain the same. In Bolshevik Russia every instrument available for the exercise of force and power is in the possession of that government, and those opposed to the government or who fail to render it whole-hearted support are completely suppressed and absolutely powerless. The government is more highly centralized and less restricted in the exercise of that centralized power than was the government of the Czar. The agencies used by the dictators in imposing their will upon the masses are less restrained and restricted in the exercise of their power by law, custom, or humanity than were the agencies utilized by the old régime. Economic domination unheard of and unsought in the past has been seized upon and usurped by the dictatorship.

All these facts negative the suggestion of the existence of a degree of weakness which makes the Government impotent to exercise the necessary restraint. On the contrary, every act of terrorism is justified by the affirmative pronouncement of the Bolshevik government, either through its constitution and laws or the authoritative utterances of its officials. The government is founded upon class hatred; its avowed purpose is the extermination of all elements of society that are opposed to or are capable of opposing the Bolshevik party. "Merciless suppression" and "extermination" of all classes except the present governing class are familiar slogans of the Bolsheviks, and confiscation is adopted as an essential instrument in the governmental formula. As a guaranty of its perpetuation in power, its underlying policy is that "the end justifies the means," and in the application of this policy the government denies the existence of any inalienable right in the Russian citizen, and respects neither the right to life, liberty, or property. In its so-called declaration of rights, the government adopts a policy which it hopes will result in "the destruction of the parasitic classes of society," and as an aid to this end has decreed as an essential part of its fundamental law the principle of arming one class and disarming another, with a view of making the extermination

and destruction more effective. In practice, this government has classified all of those people who fail to sympathize with and support the existing dictatorship as the bourgeoisie, and has proclaimed the doctrine that their refusal to bow to the edict of the dictatorship should be answered by "violence toward the bourgeoisie." A careful survey of the innumerable acts of violence and terrorism committed in Russia will fail to disclose scarcely a single offense that has not been participated in either by their Red Guard, by Commissars, or by others having an official and governmental status.

The dictatorship, utilizing Lettish troops and Chinese laborers, as well as to some extent German and Austrian prisoners and criminals discharged from the jails as its so-called Red Guard to enforce its decrees, promptly secured possession and control of:

- (a) All arms and ammunition.
- (b) Practically all foodstuffs and commodities essential to the maintenance of life.
- (c) All clothing and household goods necessary for warmth and health.
- (d) All gold, silver, and specie, including jewelry, ornaments, gold and silver plate.

This was accomplished by means of confiscation followed by the nationalization and monopolizing by the State of all commercial, industrial, and financial enterprises. Having secured possession of all of these instruments of physical and economic power and domination, this dictatorship was enabled to enforce the submission of most of the population to its will. The rank and file of the people of Russia had no other choice. They could not resist or oppose the Bolsheviki with force, as they were without firearms and without ammunition. They could not refuse to obey its dictates else they would be starved to death. They could not defy the dictators, as they would be left without raiment. They could not sustain life with money possessing an intrinsic value, for they had none, and thousands have been starved to death and murdered as a result of this régime.

Possessing, therefore, every instrument necessary for the exercise of the forcible persuasion of the populace, it became expedient to reinforce the dictatorship with an increased man power. Recognizing the state of the public mind, it was necessary to guard against betrayal by those who were drafted into the service of the State, and the most effective weapons selected to secure the faithful execution of the will of the dictators were fear, terrorism, and a system of hostages. By this system of hostages the relatives, family, and loved ones of the drafted subject were held as prisoners, their food supply, their clothing, even their lives, depending upon the fidelity with which the dictatorship was supported and its orders executed.

Having professed an adherence to the democratic form of government to assist in securing control of Russia, the Bolsheviki, in establishing its paper government, sought to maintain its dictatorship under color of a representative political system. A recognition of the democratic principle that all men are created equal, however, would have necessitated the equal participation of all citizens in the affairs of government. Such universal participation in political affairs would have made impossible a dictatorship of the minority, but would inherently have been a rule of the majority and have accomplished just what

the dissolution of the constituent assembly was intended to prevent. The following of the Bolshevik government being more numerous in the cities, and these by reason of their concentration within more restricted territorial limits being more readily led and dominated, it was prescribed by constitutional direction that representation from cities in the government should be five times as great as the representation from the provincial districts. In other words, representation from cities is in the ratio of 1 to every 25,000 of the population, while from the rural districts and the territory of the peasants, who constitute a large percentage of the Russian population, representation is 1 to every 125,000 of the population. Even this discrimination did not adequately safeguard the domination of the Bolshevik minority. Disfranchisement of large groups of the population was necessary. By constitutional provision they denied the right to participate in the government and disfranchised the following classes:

(a) All persons employing others in connection with the conduct of their business.

(b) All persons receiving interest, rents, dividends, or an income from financial or industrial enterprises.

(c) All merchants, traders, and dealers.

(d) All clergymen, priests, and employees of churches and religious bodies.

(e) Certain persons connected with the Czar's government, persons mentally afflicted, and persons convicted of certain crimes against the Bolshevik government.

Even with these restrictions upon suffrage, the Bolshevik government has refused to undertake the election of a constituent assembly. The elections that are permitted are conducted under supervision of the Red Guard, and local bodies or soviets that are not satisfactory to the dictatorship are removed, and in some instances so-called commissars or officials of unquestioned loyalty to the government are imported from the cities to govern the affairs of the political unit (the local soviet) sought to be dominated according to the Bolshevik faith.

Confiscation on a wholesale scale has been used as a means of undertaking to create and maintain tangible assets that could be used as the economic foundation upon which could be built the industrial and financial superstructure of the Bolshevik state. By constitutional edict and by a series of decrees issued by the dictatorship all land, forests, and natural resources of Russia have been confiscated by the government in order that the Bolshevik government may become the landlord of the entire population and exercise the control incident thereto. Where a man shall live and toil and till the soil is determined by the State and the right to determine the nature and extent of each man's domicile, and the power to compel the migration of the peasant from the locality of his birth or adoption, even to the extent of separating families as the population of the various communities expands or contracts, is exercised by the Bolshevik government through the laws which it has decreed for the control of the people.

The alleged purpose of the seizure of land by the government was that the right to the land might be transferred to the rank and file of the people of Russia in order that the individual Russian peasant might become the unrestrained and unrestricted architect of his own future economic development, but the

methods adopted by the Bolsheviks have merely transferred the landlordship from the large landowners, and in many instances from the peasant groups themselves, to the Bolshevik government, and the present control by that government is not confined to the land itself, as was the control of the landowners under the old régime, but extends as well to the persons and even the tools, implements, and products of the peasants. The aged and infirm are deprived of all right to utilize and enjoy during their declining years the soil their efforts may have enriched, because their physical strength makes them powerless to perform all of the labor incident to its full cultivation. They, thereupon, become mere pensioners of the State. This system guarantees to the peasant only the present enjoyment of a given piece of land, and consequently only warrants him in so utilizing the beneficence of the State in according him the right to use the same as to insure the maximum present production to the exclusion of a scientific development that will enure to future advantage. In other words, an uncertain tenure is naturally accompanied by an exploitation rather than by a systematic development of the leasehold interest. Under this system, the peasant can never become the owner of the land he tills or of any other land. To aid in the system and to establish a larger control of peasant activities by the government the principle of confiscation has also been invoked in the case of all live stock and all agricultural implements, and as a consequence these essential instruments of land cultivation, these chattels necessary to the production of both meat and vegetable foodstuffs have become, without regard to the rights of former owners or the advantage to the individual of future ownership therein, the property of the Bolshevik government, and the only right thereto that the peasant can in the future acquire is a use upon such terms and conditions as the government may prescribe.

As may well be expected, there seems to be much difficulty in determining the manner in which this policy is being carried into actual operation, and it is apparent that only by the application of arbitrary methods can the already existing articles in these categories be made useful to any portion of the peasant population or be adequately protected and maintained so as to preserve their value. It is also interesting to contemplate, but dubious to predict, how meat-food products can under this system be maintained at a sufficient quantity to sustain life.

The thrift, industry, perseverance, and intelligence which has enabled a portion of the Russian people in the past to acquire and save money has also been penalized by the confiscation of all banks and banking institutions and their transformation into a state monopoly.

Confiscation under the milder term of nationalization has eliminated from all industrial establishments such as factories, mills, and mines the business acumen and scientific methods necessary to successful operation and competitive methods. The absolute control of their operation and management is placed in the hands of the employees. This has been followed by the stagnation of the industrial life of the country, and even those nationalized industries which have been able to operate under government control have operated at an enormous percentage of loss, the deficiencies being met from the unlimited issue of fiat paper money printed by the government. The nationaliza-

tion of the enterprises essential to the production and delivery of raw materials has so handicapped their production as to restrict the quantity of raw materials available for the maintenance of industrial enterprises, and the whole economic condition of Russia has made it impossible to secure relief from foreign sources. These industrial conditions can only continue so long as the government can succeed in monopolizing the means of subsistence, maintain an adequate military force to enforce the decrees of the dictatorship, and force the recognition of worthless fiat paper money as the basis of its financial system.

As the economic formula of the Bolsheviki prescribes the confiscation of the property rights of others, likewise it proclaims the doctrine of the repudiation of financial obligations, and the debts of Russia have been renounced. Repudiation is also invoked to secure the government against the incumbrances upon and liabilities of the property and assets of the enterprises, land and chattels seized by it under its confiscation program. This repudiation also aided materially in suppressing and exterminating the creditor class, which naturally constitutes a part of the element that the Bolsheviki are pleased to call the bourgeoisie, or capitalistic class, by depriving them of the right and ability to recover and utilize the earnings, savings, and accumulations of the past. As it affected them it was a form of confiscation. Repudiation is therefore a consistent accompaniment of confiscation and an essential element in the process of destruction. The financial condition of the dictatorship, however, required the adoption of some constructive policy that would finance it. It was necessary to maintain at least a color of legitimacy, an appearance of honest business methods, in supporting its so-called red army and in securing control of the articles necessary to sustain life. Further than that it was desirable to devise ways and means by which service in the red army and employment in nationalized enterprises might appear sufficiently attractive, and at the same time give an appearance of prosperity to the government itself, in order that hope as well as fear might assist in maintaining the Bolshevik government. The policy adopted was the printing of unlimited amounts of fiat paper money unsecured by any reserve. This naturally furnished to the government a cash capital limited only by the capacity of the printing presses of the government, which, in turn, had been confiscated and nationalized. Already it is estimated that a sum in excess of 30,000,000,000 rubles has been put into circulation. This has created a ridiculously inflated circulating medium of no material value to the public, but of enforced value to the government.

The populace are compelled to accept this paper money from the Bolshevik dictatorship, but can secure little for it in transactions between one another. Barter and exchange have, therefore, become the only satisfactory means of conducting commercial transactions, and the breakdown in the industrial life and transportation facilities of the country has made practically impossible the bringing together in the same community of the articles of trade and commerce necessary to the health, comfort, and life of the various elements of society. In consequence, many Russians are faced with starvation while possessing large sums of the money of the government that, in their extremity,

avails them nothing. There can be no permanence to a government whose financial system is founded upon such a method.

The destruction of all effective military and naval power and the removal of the leadership of capable officers was essential to the establishment of a powerful dictatorship as well as to the complete abandonment of the eastern front during the war. By the safe conduct of Lenin from Switzerland through the German Empire into Russia, regardless of the question as to whether he and his confrères were financed, as seems probable, in their revolutionary undertaking by the German Government, an obligation was incurred to demoralize and destroy the existing Russian Army which had been more or less effectively maintaining the eastern front. How completely this was accomplished is now history. They promptly decreed in their so-called declaration of rights that "the soldiers and sailors are liberated from the power of autocratic generals, because the generals will now be elected and they may be removed." All titles and degrees of rank and the authority incident to superiority were annulled and discipline was discontinued. Instantaneously the army and navy degenerated into a mere mob with every soldier a law unto himself. Demobilization was directed and the demoralization was completed. The organization of the Red Army was undertaken around the nucleus which the Lettish troops and sailors in the Red Guard of the October revolution provided.

By similar means the organization of the Red Fleet was undertaken. Chinese laborers without other means of subsistence were easily enlisted. The opportunity that service in the Red Army and Red Fleet afforded for pilfering and looting under color of authorized confiscation presented a sufficient invitation to the lawless and criminal elements that had become conspicuous through the opening of the doors of prisons by the Bolsheviki to join those bodies and participate in the confiscation and seizure that were a part of the program of terror, fear, extermination, and destruction upon which the Bolshevik government had entered. The food and clothing situation was desperate, and the government had acquired, through the application of its formula, a generous supply and was using its Red Guard to gain a monopoly. In consequence, the one reasonably certain way of gaining a livelihood was by affiliating with the Red Army. This brought into the Bolshevik fold many people who otherwise would have been condemned to starve. Hostages were held by the government to compel the submission of those who might otherwise have been recalcitrant. Thus a Red Army and a Red Fleet has been created, and they are charged with the execution of the decrees of the dictatorship and the sentences of the so-called courts or revolutionary tribunals, and they are afforded a large degree of personal discretion in the exercise of duties which practically constitute a rule of martial law.

Repudiating the doctrine of all radical revolutionary groups throughout the world that have claimed for the individual of all lands the right of conscientious objection for religious or other reason against the bearing of arms and the participation in armed conflicts, the Bolsheviki have adopted as the essential safeguard of their political fabric compulsory military service. As Prussianism found it essential to world domination by the autocracy of the Hohenzollerns, so Bolshevism seized upon it

as the mainstay that would weather its autocracy of the dictatorship through its campaign of confiscation and repudiation.

All of the established courts and judicial institutions have been abolished and in their place have been created revolutionary tribunals. Under the dictatorship these new judicial tribunals disregard all laws that "contradict the revolutionary conception of right." In actual operation these revolutionary tribunals have tried and condemned men in their absence. No right to bail is recognized and the penalty imposed depends largely upon the caprice of the court. The death penalty, the reestablishment of which under the provisional government was vociferously denounced by the Bolsheviks, has been invoked for all sorts of crimes and misdemeanors. In fact, the procedure in the courts is a mere travesty on justice and most summary in its nature.

Every activity of the Bolshevik government indicates clearly the antipathy of the Bolsheviks toward Christianity and the Christian religion. Its program is a direct challenge to that religion. The Christian church and Bolshevism can not both survive the program that is being developed by the Russian dictatorship and which it is undertaking to extend throughout the world. Not only have they confiscated all church property, real and personal, but they have established the right of anti-religious propaganda as a constitutionally recognized institution. Church and school have been divorced even to the extent of suppressing the Sunday school and the teaching of all religious doctrines in public, either in schools or educational institutions of any kind, is expressly forbidden. Religion can only be taught or studied privately. All church and religious organizations are prohibited from owning property of any kind. All recognition of a Supreme Being in both governmental and judicial oaths is abolished. The clergy and all servants or employees of church bodies are expressly disfranchised and deprived of all right to hold public positions. The full significance of the attitude of the Bolsheviks toward Christianity is most fully manifested in the fact that, though by Russian custom and decree under the old régime, every newspaper or periodical published on Easter Sunday in the Russian Empire was required to carry the headline, "Christ is risen," on Easter Sunday in 1918, all Bolshevik papers substituted for this sacred sentiment the headline and slogan, "One hundred years ago to-day Karl Marx was born." Thus the issue has been framed between the gospel of Karl Marx and the teachings of Christ. We reiterate, therefore, that Bolshevism and the Christian religion can not both survive.

Bolshevism accords to the family no such sacred place in society as modern civilization accords to it. Conflicting reports have been passing current during the last few months relative to the nationalization of women by the new Russian Government. Two or three local soviets have apparently thus degraded the womanhood of their particular districts, but the central government has refrained from adopting any such policy in the whole nation. They have, however, promulgated decrees relating to marriage and divorce which practically establishes a state of free love. Their effect has been to furnish a vehicle for the legalization of prostitution by permitting the annulment of the marriage bonds at the whim of the parties,

recognizing their collusive purposes as a ground for the severance of the matrimonial state.

The freedom of the press and of speech, though heralded by the advocates of Bolshevism as necessary to the intelligent participation of the people in popular government, has been abrogated in Russia, and by the usual confiscatory method of the accepted formula all of the mechanical devices and materials necessary for the publication of periodicals and all places of meeting and public assemblage have been seized by the Bolshevik government.

To make the control more complete and effective the publication of all advertisements, whether in regularly published periodicals or on handbills or programs, is made a monopoly of the government. As a consequence the people of Russia are deprived of all facts, literature, and public expression, through the medium of the press or public meetings, except such as is approved by the dictatorship and has been passed by its censorship.

In the attempted establishment of an educational system it is to be expected that much difficulty would arise because of the large percentage of illiteracy that afflicts Russia, and it is not surprising that this system is largely on paper and of little practical value. It is interesting to note, however, that under this system age rather than attainment determines the admissibility of the student to a given school or grade, and that to require the production of evidence of the qualification of a student for such admission is a criminal offense. This again reflects the Bolshevik theory that equalization can be accomplished by dictatorial decrees.

The apparent purpose of the Bolshevik government is to make the Russian citizen, and especially the women and children, the wards and dependents of that government. Not satisfied with the degree of dependency incurred by the economic and industrial control assumed by its functionaries, it has destroyed the natural ambition and made impossible of accomplishment the moral obligation of the father to provide, care for, and adequately protect the child of his blood and the mother of that child against the misfortunes of orphanhood and widowhood. To accomplish this it has by decree expressly abolished and prohibited all right of inheritance, either by law or will. Upon death all of the decedent's estate is confiscated by the State, and all heirs who are physically incapable of working become pensioners of the State to the extent that the assets confiscated by the government make such pensions possible.

Insurance of all kinds has been nationalized, the assets of insurance companies confiscated, and the business of insuring life, property, accident, old age, and unemployment made a State monopoly. In the attempted liquidation of existing companies and associations the liquidating representatives of the government seem only concerned in securing possession and record of all of their assets and fail to recognize the propriety of accurately adjusting their liabilities. As a consequence, those insured and the beneficiaries under existing policies find themselves without the protection for which they have been paying premiums.

There has been much discussion with reference to the policy and motive of the associated Governments in landing troops on

Russian soil. It is interesting to note that the combined military force at Archangel was landed at the solicitation and request of the established and de facto government of the northern Provinces of Russia to aid that government in protecting its citizenship from the murder, cruelty, and confiscation of the approaching Red Army of the Bolshevik government.

The salient features which constitute the program of Bolshevism, as it exists to-day in Russia and is presented to the rest of the world as a panacea for all ills, may be summarized as follows:

(1) The repudiation of democracy and the establishment of a dictatorship.

(2) The confiscation of all land and the improvements thereon.

(3) The confiscation of all forests and natural resources.

(4) The confiscation of all live stock and all agricultural implements.

(5) The confiscation of all banks and banking institutions and the establishment of a State monopoly of the banking business.

(6) The confiscation of all factories, mills, mines, and industrial institutions and the delivery of the control and operation thereof to the employees therein.

(7) The confiscation of all churches and all church property, real and personal.

(8) The confiscation of all newspapers and periodicals and all mechanical facilities and machinery used in the publication thereof.

(9) The seizure and confiscation of all public meeting places and assembly halls.

(10) The confiscation of all transportation and communication systems.

(11) The confiscation of the entire estate of all decedents.

(12) The monopolizing by the State of all advertisements of every nature, whether in newspapers, periodicals, handbills, or programs.

(13) The repudiation of all debts against the government and all obligations due the non-Bolshevik elements of the population.

(14) The establishment of universal compulsory military service regardless of religious scruples and conscientious objections.

(15) The establishment of universal compulsory labor.

(16) The abolition of the Sunday school and all other schools and institutions that teach religion.

(17) The absolute separation of churches and schools.

(18) The establishment, through marriage and divorce laws, of a method for the legalization of prostitution, when the same is engaged in by consent of the parties.

(19) The refusal to recognize the existence of God in its governmental and judicial proceedings.

(20) The conferring of the rights of citizenship on aliens without regard to length of residence or intelligence.

(21) The arming of all so-called "toilers," and the disarming of all persons that had succeeded in acquiring property.

(22) The discrimination in favor of residents of cities and against residents of the rural districts through giving residents of cities five times as much voting power as is accorded to residents of rural districts in such elections as are permitted.

(23) The disfranchisement of all persons employing any other person in connection with their business.

(24) The disfranchisement of all persons receiving rent, interest, or dividends.

(25) The disfranchisement of all merchants, traders, and commercial agents.

(26) The disfranchisement of all priests, clergymen, or employees of churches and religious bodies.

(27) The denial of the existence of any inalienable rights in the individual citizen.

(28) The establishment of a judicial system exercising autocratic power, convicting persons and imposing penalties in their absence, and without opportunity to be heard, and even adopting the death penalty for numerous crimes and misdemeanors.

(29) The inauguration of a reign of fear, terrorism, and violence.

This is the program that the revolutionary elements and the so-called "parlor Bolsheviks" would have this country accept as a substitute for the Government of the United States, which recognizes that "all men are created equal," and that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are the inalienable rights of all its citizens. This is the formula they would have adopted to supersede the Government which was established by all the people of the United States "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity," and "promote the general welfare." The mere recital of the program is a sufficient denunciation of it and of the individuals and groups which advocate and defend it.

During modern times the effort of civilization has been directed to lifting mankind to the highest possible level of intelligence and social and material well-being in order to attain the highest degree of social equality between man and man. For the first time since the Dark Ages has an organized government undertaken to invoke a process of equalization by establishing as the basis of social equality the minimum rather than the maximum degree of existing educational, industrial, social, and moral efficiency, yet such is the policy of the Bolshevik government. It recognizes that the psychology of even the most illiterate elements of the Russian people is such that it can not perpetuate this doctrine in practice unless the same reactionary methods of equalization are simultaneously destroying the social fabric, the efficiency, the individual initiative, the ambition, and the material prosperity of the people of all other nations, whose competition and accomplishments would necessarily result in odious and destructive comparisons. Not content therefore in fathering in Russia this retrograde method of establishing the equality of mankind on the basis of the lowest strata of society, it has undertaken to arouse in the United States and in all other countries resentment, rancor, and hatred against those elements of society which have, by reason of their aptitude, perseverance, industry, and thrift attained that superior degree of intelligence and prosperity that has made possible the accomplishments of twentieth century civilization. The effort of progressing civilization has always been the uplifting of man to a higher and higher plane of living and a loftier place in society.

The activities of the Bolsheviks constitute a complete repudiation of modern civilization and the promulgation of the doctrine

that the best attainment of the most backward member of society shall be the level at which mankind shall find its final and victorious goal. The pulling down of the progressive rather than the lifting up of the retrogressive is presented as the doctrine of their new kind of civilization. To carry this message to the uttermost parts of the earth they have appropriated enormous sums of money, and, incidentally, their process of equalization in Russia was promoted by the starvation which the funds thus expended might have been utilized to alleviate. Their messengers and their friends have afflicted this country, and their new civilization has been represented as Utopian in its nature. Many well-disposed persons have been deceived into the belief that they were promoting a social welfare movement in advocating it. They have even given their substance that it might be perpetuated and extended. Yet, while these people who have been popularly called "parlor Bolsheviks" are contributing to these Bolshevik agents, these same agents are appealing to the hatred and the lowest instincts of the more ignorant elements of the population, reinforced by the criminally inclined, to whom the doctrine of confiscation furnished a form of legalized robbery and a means of livelihood without physical or mental effort, to rise en masse and destroy our civilization and the so-called bourgeoisie, with whom, of course, must be classed these same "parlor Bolsheviks" who are assisting, by lending funds and respectability to the movement, in bringing the temple down upon their own heads.

It is significant, however, that in the United States only a portion of the so-called radical revolutionary groups and organizations accept in its entirety the doctrine of the Bolsheviks. They have, however, all seized upon Bolshevism as a rallying cry and are undertaking to unite all of these elements under that banner for the purpose of accomplishing the initial step in their common formula, to wit, the overthrow of existing governmental institutions and the complete demoralization of modern society. With this accomplished each group hopes that it can muster sufficient strength to maintain a supremacy in the new social order and invoke the policies of its particular creed. Most of these groups accept the common ground that forcible, as distinguished from political, action should be used as the instrument to secure the overthrow of the present government and in so doing defy and repudiate the democratic form of government which guarantees under our Constitution the rule of the majority. Like the Bolsheviks in Russia, these groups recognize in the destruction of life, property, and personal security the necessary preliminary to the establishment of a government founded upon the violence of the minority. They realize that riot, disorder, and hunger breed hatred, blood lust, and desperation, and that without these mankind can not be driven to the use of force to accomplish an end attainable by lawful and peaceable political methods under the existing government.

The radical revolutionary elements in this country and the Bolshevik government of Russia have, therefore, found a common cause in support of which they can unite their forces. They are both fanning the flame of discontent and endeavoring to incite revolution. Numerous newspapers are openly advocating revolution. Literature and circular matter demanding a resort to violence are being widely circulated. Bombs and

high explosives have been used in many parts of the country in an attempt to inaugurate a reign of terror and to accomplish the assassination of public officials. The demonstration of the consequences of this movement in Russia, no matter how graphic the description, is a distant, far-away picture to the average citizen of the United States. While entertaining and perhaps amusing him, much as the novel in modern fiction does, it fails to impress him as an actual existing institution, in a world growing smaller and smaller through the accomplishments in transportation and communication, that must be considered and met as an actuality. To understand and realize its real consequences it must be brought home to the citizen and applied to the life and institutions which he knows.

With a view, therefore, of concretely illustrating just what this new social order would accomplish if transplanted into the political, educational, industrial, and religious life of the United States attention is invited to the following unavoidable consequences:

1. The application of force and violence, the shedding of blood and the destruction of life and property, the common incidents of all revolutions, and all this to destroy a democratic form of government, under which the majority can secure just the kind of government that it desires. The advocacy of revolutionary methods is an admission, therefore, that minority rather than majority rule is the goal sought to be attained.

2. To make possible the control of the minority as the dictators of the majority, the disfranchisement of millions of substantial, patriotic citizens who would fall in the so-called bourgeois or capitalistic class. This would deprive of the right to participate in affairs of government—

- (a) Millions of farmers, merchants, and manufacturers, both large and small, employing persons in the conduct of their business, and all professional and business men utilizing the services of a clerk, bookkeeper, or stenographer.

- (b) All persons receiving interest on borrowed money or bonds, rent from real estate or personal property, and dividends from stock of any kind.

- (c) All traders, merchants, and dealers, even though they do not employ another person in the conduct of their business.

- (d) All preachers, priests, janitors, and employees of all churches and religious bodies.

It is apparent with the millions of persons falling into these several classes, disfranchised and deprived of all right to participate in the affairs of government, accompanied with the immediate enfranchisement of all aliens who do not fall within these prohibited classes, and the opening of the doors of all prisons and penitentiaries, the domination of the criminal and most undesirable alien elements of the country would be a comparatively easy matter. To simplify the question of this control, however, the substantial rural portion of the population would be further suppressed and restricted, and under the revolutionary formula the voting power of the cities would be five times as great as that of the rural communities, the ratio of representation in cities being 1 to every 25,000 of the population, while that of the rural districts would be only 1 to every 125,000 of the population. In the United States the rural population under the 1910 census was considerably in excess of the

urban. We must also remember that the application of the formula would include the disarming of all disfranchised classes and the arming to the teeth of these criminal and alien elements.

3. It would result in the confiscation by the Government thus constituted of the land of the United States, including 6,361,502 farms, of which 62.1 per cent, or 3,948,722 farms, are owned in fee by the farmers who cultivate them and represent the labor and toil of a lifetime. On the farms of the United States there are improvements, machinery, and live stock to the value of \$40,991,449,090 (census of 1910), all of which would be confiscated with the land. The confiscation program would include the more than 275,000 manufacturing establishments, including the \$22,790,980,000 of invested capital, much of which is owned by the small investor, whose livelihood depends upon the success of the respective enterprises. The confiscation would also include 203,432 church edifices. Forests aggregating 555,000,000 acres would be seized by the government and an annual product of \$1,375,000,000 would come under the control of the dictatorship. Dwellings to the number of 17,805,845, of which 9,093,675 are owned in fee, with 5,984,248 entirely free from debt, would be confiscated and the owners dispossessed at the pleasure of the government.

4. Although clamoring loudly for a free and unrestricted press the revolutionary program would require the seizure and confiscation of the 22,896 newspapers and periodicals in the United States, together with all mechanical equipment necessary for their publication, and a control and ownership of the public press by the government.

5. Complete control of all banking institutions and their assets is an essential part of the revolutionary program, and the 31,492 banks in the United States would be taken over by the government and the savings of millions, including 11,397,553 depositors drawing interest on accounts in savings banks, and consequently belonging to the so-called bourgeois or capitalistic class, jeopardized.

6. One of the most appalling and far-reaching consequences of an application of Bolshevism in the United States would be found in the confiscation and liquidation of its life insurance companies. There is 20 per cent more life insurance in force in this country than in all the rest of the world and nine-tenths of it is mutual insurance. Almost 50,000,000 life insurance policies representing nearly \$30,000,000,000 of insurance, the substantial protection of the women and children of the Nation would be rendered valueless.

7. The atheism that permeates the whole Russian dictatorship is clearly reflected in the activities of their revolutionary confrères in the United States and in their publications they have denounced our religion and our God as "lies." This gives added significance to the revolutionary attitude toward the Christian Church and the Christian religion. The prohibition of religious schools and the teaching or studying of religion, except in private, would necessitate the abolition of 194,759 Sunday schools in the United States and a great number of seminaries, colleges, and universities; 19,935,890 Sunday school scholars would be deprived and prevented from enjoying the institution that has become an important part of their lives and is one of

the great moral influences of the Nation. Catholic schools, colleges, and seminaries to the number of 6,681 would be suppressed. Church property of the value of \$1,676,600,582, would be confiscated and 41,926,854 (census of 1916) members of 227,487 church organizations would be subjected to the domination of an atheist dictatorship.

Notwithstanding the fact that every champion and defender of Bolshevism that testified before your committee unequivocally admitted that the Bolshevik formula was not adaptable to the economic and social life of the United States, they and their coevangelists persist in their appeals to the passion of the people in an attempt to provoke discontent and hatred. In cooperation with the revolutionary elements, destruction of existing social and governmental institutions by violent methods is being promoted. They must, therefore, be condemned as the mere champions of discontent and disorder, offering no practical and acceptable ideal, as they profess to have, with which to soften and appease the wrath that they are undertaking to arouse.

GENERAL STATEMENT AND OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS.

The testimony taken before this committee having been printed, a further review thereof is deemed unnecessary. A careful consideration of this record discloses certain well-defined abuses, prejudicial to the best interests of the Nation and calculated to undermine and destroy our form of government. The Nation having engaged in the greatest war in history with the purpose of saving the world for democracy, now emerges from that struggle confronted with the paramount duty of preserving democracy for the world.

The disclosures before this committee concerned (a) the political activities of the liquor interests in their effort to control and dominate elections and public officials, (b) the propaganda of the agents, representatives, and sympathizers of a foreign government, the form of which and whose purposes, industrial, commercial, and political, were incompatible with and antagonistic to the form, ideals, and purposes of the Government of the United States, and (c) Bolshevism as it exists in Russia and the activities of its champions in the country. No useful purpose is to be served by reviewing and recounting the reprehensible activities of either of the elements whose conduct has been the subject matter of this inquiry. A perusal of the testimony furnishes adequate evidence of it. This testimony embodies such an exposure of all of these elements as to justify fully the investigation.

The activities brought to the attention of the committee are so startling, however, that we believe that the real advantage of the inquiry will be lost unless Congress profits from the knowledge thus obtained by undertaking by appropriate legislation to make impossible a repetition of these activities, either on the part of the offenders who have been under investigation, and many of whose activities are still continuing, or by others who at some future time may seek to undermine the Government or pervert the popular will by the adoption of similar methods against which the Federal statutes seem to provide no adequate safeguard.

With this end in view, therefore, this committee invites attention to certain abuses which are clearly established by the

record of its hearings and a summary of proposed legislation, the immediate adoption of which it earnestly recommends.

I.

That millions of dollars have been expended in elections, in connection with which Federal officers were voted for by special interests through organizations of their own creation, and by methods of their own adoption. That secrecy has surrounded these expenditures and the activities thereby induced. That the publicity and accounting sought for all political expenditures by the corrupt-practices acts of the Federal and the several State Governments has been largely defeated. That the Federal corrupt-practices statutes are entirely inadequate to meet present-day political methods and are easily evaded without involving a violation of the statute. Any effective corrupt-practices act must provide—

(1) For full publicity of all receipts and expenditures intended to influence in any way the result of an election.

(2) To bring under legal control and supervision every committee and organization participating in a political activity.

(3) To perpetuate and preserve for a reasonable time a complete record of the financial transactions of all individuals, candidates, committees, and organizations.

(4) To define clearly the purposes and activities for which money can be legally expended.

(5) To require publicity that will unequivocally fix responsibility for all paid and inspired advertising or publicity matter used and intended either openly or secretly to affect the result of an election.

II.

Newspapers printed in both English and foreign languages have been subsidized directly and indirectly for the purpose of undertaking to influence the minds, thoughts, and actions of the people of the United States without disclosing in any way the commercial or political influence financially interested. It is of great importance that every facility should be afforded to all elements of society and to every commercial, industrial, social, religious, and educational interest to present openly and frankly its views on every subject not aimed at the impairment of the sovereignty of the Nation or in disparagement of our form of government as established by the Constitution. But as the right to present these various contentions should be preserved as inalienable, so the public to whom the appeal is made have an inalienable right to know and to be advised as to who is the spokesman of a given cause. Newspapers have become such an educational medium that the public should be afforded an ample opportunity to know just who their instructors are.

The act of Congress of August 24, 1912, undertook to accomplish this, but in the light of experience it is now clearly established that this act is inadequate. It permits of the adoption of many subterfuges by which its purpose is defeated though its spirit is violated without the commission of a legal breach of its prohibitions.

It is the opinion of this committee that this act should be amended and made more effective in several important particulars.

III.

The foreign-language press of the country as now conducted has the effect and in many instances is inspired with the purpose of discouraging the assimilation of the foreign elements with the American people and has been utilized by special interests for political and propaganda purposes. The financial condition of many of these newspapers has made them the easy and cheap victims of designing persons and interests whose financial advantage is best secured by retarding the Americanization of the alien and limiting him to the use of the foreign-language paper as his sole source of information. The foreign-language press exerts a greater influence upon its readers than an English newspaper does because of the limited educational facilities of the persons who can only read and talk in such foreign tongues, and consequently the subsidization and domination of this press is proportionately more vicious in its effects than similar practices would be in the case of English newspapers.

The experience of the last few years has clearly demonstrated the necessity of Americanizing the residents of this country, and especially those who from time to time are assuming the responsibility of citizenship. The aliens now residing within our borders or hereafter immigrating to our shores must either be assimilated by the Americans or they will be held together in their several nativistic groups, each group adhering to its own language and customs, with the consequent adherence, either consciously or unconsciously, to the land of their nativity. While it must be recognized that during the time when they are merely the guests of this Nation a knowledge of their native language is all that can be expected, the Government is justified in requiring that before their status is changed to one of citizenship and before they can be permitted to participate in the government of the United States there should be some evidence at least of a purpose on their part toward that assimilation which is essential to the unity of purpose and substantial adherence to our institutions necessary to the healthy development of the Nation.

Foreign-language newspapers are a danger to the country unless they are utilized to assist in the assimilation of the alien element and to aid in the process of Americanization which is essential to the healthy development of the population into a homogeneous whole. This much-sought-for Americanization would be impeded by either depriving the alien of the educational value of a newspaper in the only language he can read or by withholding from him proper aid and facility for learning the English language and failing to encourage him to acquire the educational advantages incident to the mastering of the language of his adopted country. With this in mind, therefore, the committee recommends legislation to control and regulate the printing of foreign-language publications in this country.

IV.

For a number of years prior to our entry into the World War agents of the German Government persistently carried on a great propaganda in the United States, the purpose of which was to promote the interests of the German Government and to create a sentiment in this country in favor of that Government



to the prejudice of this Nation. Every activity which tended to weaken our Government or to arouse antagonisms that would demoralize the unity and morale of our population and every movement that was aimed at involving us in foreign disputes or domestic difficulties was encouraged and frequently financed by the agents and representatives of the German Government.

To-day the forces of anarchy and violence are utilizing the financial resources plundered by them from the European people they have succeeded in exploiting, to import into this country money, literature, and hired agents for the purpose of promulgating the doctrine of force, violence, assassination, confiscation, and revolution.

As an effect of these activities there has appeared in this country a large group of persons who advocate the overthrow of all organized government, and especially the Government of the United States, who favor revolutionary movements, repudiate the Constitution of the United States, and refuse to respect our national emblem and our governmental institutions. There are found among the leaders of this group many aliens who unhesitatingly abuse the hospitality which this country has extended to them and who because of that leadership are able to retard the real Americanization of the more ignorant residents possessing similar racial characteristics. These persons encourage and maintain a solidarity of the people of the several foreign tongues which is used to create and incite a class hatred that is quickly absorbed by and incorporated into the revolutionary movement led by them. The alien element in this country is the most susceptible and is the first to adopt violence as an effective weapon for supremacy.

More reprehensible than the alien element is that class of American citizens, whether native born or naturalized, who, having obligated themselves to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, lightly disregard their responsibilities and promulgate the doctrine that the form of government established by the Constitution should be overthrown and that a government responsive to a class rather than to all the people should be forcibly substituted therefor. It is a significant fact that almost without exception the persons in this country who are to-day advocating revolution and violence and all of the suffering, pain, and bloodshed incident to such a movement, have during the great struggle of the past two years undertaken to handicap, check, and obstruct in every way possible the military operations of this Government under the pretext that their consciences would not permit them to take the life of their fellow men even in war. The destruction of life, property, and government has no horrors to them when directed toward the overthrow of the Government of the United States, but the use of force in defense of our country they conscientiously object to.

Prior to the enactment of the statute of June 15, 1917, as amended by the statute of May 16, 1918, our Government was without laws adequate even to protect its own sovereignty. It is indeed unfortunate that this legislation should have been called an espionage act. Much of the complaint and criticism directed at this act was aimed more at the word used to designate it than at the text of the statute. Many of the provisions of this act are applicable only during time of war and conse-

quently the restoration of peace will leave the Government of the United States more helpless, and because of the growth of the revolutionary movement as a result of the World War, more powerless, than it found itself prior to our entrance into that struggle.

It is therefore imperative that there be enacted before the re-establishment of peace an act adequately protecting our national sovereignty and our established institutions.

V.

That the American people have been victimized and deceived by the activities of special interests and the subtle practices of designing individuals, some of them the agents and representatives of foreign governments through the use of organizations having dignified and respectable names, which completely disarm all suspicion of the ulterior purposes of those who inspired their organization. By the use of euphonious names given to supposedly patriotic, idealistic, and charitable organizations, patriotic and philanthropic citizens have been innocent victims of conniving representatives of foreign interests and governments and have been exploited by corrupt and dishonest elements. The Government of the United States long ago undertook by appropriate legislation to protect society from the fraudulent use of the mails commercially. The public have a right to some protection from deception being practiced by these mushroom organizations that have become so common.

No legitimate organization is ashamed of its paternity, its purposes, or its activities, and a proper registration of all voluntary associations or organizations appealing to the public through the mails for popular approval, financial support, and the propagation of its notions of government, sociology, benevolence, or what not is a reasonable requirement that can be utilized to provide some security to a much imposed-upon public; legislation is therefore recommended to this end.

VI.

Never have the Federal statutes provided adequate security against an unlawful and promiscuous use of high explosives. During the period of American neutrality, the representatives of the German Government, as well as many criminally inclined residents of our own country, resorted to the use of explosives for the destruction of life, property, and transportation facilities, and except for the provision in the interstate-commerce act, which prohibited the shipping or carrying of explosives in interstate commerce, the offenses could not be reached by the Federal Government, and when reached under this act the penalties were entirely incommensurate with the offense. The act of Congress of October 6, 1917, entitled "An act to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes," was enacted by Congress as a purely war statute, and becomes inoperative upon the restoration of peace. The efficacious effects of this legislation during the period of the war has not only justified its enactment as a war statute, but has impressed upon the people of the country the merit of its provision in times of peace as well as in times of war.



All law-abiding persons recognize the necessity of controlling and regulating the manufacture, distribution, and possession of the instruments of death and destruction relied upon by the criminal and lawless elements of society. The obligation of the Federal Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens would not be fully performed were Congress to permit the act of October 6, 1917, to die by limitation without enacting in its place a peace-time measure.

The committee wishes to again express its thanks to Maj. Humes, Capt. Lester, and Mr. Benham for their untiring zeal and great ability in aiding the committee in securing the great mass of testimony which, in our opinion, will be most useful to the public.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

LEE S. OVERMAN, *Chairman.*

WILLIAM H. KING.

JOSIAH O. WOLCOTT.

KNUTE NELSON.

THOMAS STERLING.

As a member of the subcommittee I have joined in the above report; but while agreeing with many of the statements and recommendations appearing on pages 43 to 48, inclusive, I desire to state that I am not in full accord with all the committee's recommendations.

WILLIAM H. KING.

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